DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 074 321 AC 014 261

AUTHOR Nalson, J. S.
TITLE Impact on Development of Rural Employment and Labour Problems. Seminar Group 5.
PUB DATE [72]
NOTE 18p.; Paper presented at World Congress of Rural Sociology

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS Agricultural Production; Developing Nations; *Employment Opportunities; Employment Problems; Farm Labor Problems; *Industrialization; *Job Development; *Labor Problems; *Rural Development; Seminars; Speeches

ABSTRACT

The meanings of rural development and the impact on development of rural employment and labor problems are discussed. The influence on the interaction of rural development and rural employment and labor problems of the following are considered: the objectives of rural development in a particular country or region, objectives which are not necessarily mutually compatible; types of development--economic, social, and/or political; stages of development--from subsistence agriculture through small-scale to large-scale non-agricultural industries; approaches to development--a variety from free-enterprise planning to controlled free-enterprise planning to centrally determined regional planning; and institutions and organizations of development. Types of rural employment and labor problems relative to development are considered from the standpoint of problems of population structure, problems of underemployment and under-capitalization, problems of acquisition of skills and knowledge, problems of resistance to and adjustment to change, problems of time scheduling, and general problems of social relationships between "locals" and "incomers." The contrasts and convergencies between small-scale family-based enterprise and large-scale organizations, relative to the interaction of development and rural employment and labor problems, are also considered. (KM)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

ED 074321

SEMINAR GROUP 5

Impact on Development of Rural Employment and Labour Problems

Key Paper by Professor J.S. Nalson

At this world congress of rural sociology we need to consider all types of rural development, we need to adopt a comparative perspective and we need to utilise sociological concepts to explore, in the words of the Congress theme, 'contrasts and convergencies' in assessing the factors involved in the impact on development of rural employment and labour problems.

I see my task in setting the scene for the three seminars as that of outlining what we mean when we talk about rural development, of indicating the types of rural employment and labour problems which can occur and of indicating the ways in which these problems impinge upon development.[1]

A. The Meanings of Rural Development

1. Objectives of development

There can be a number of objectives for rural development. Which objective is paramount or which combination of objectives is selected as the goal of development will influence the interaction of rural development and rural employment and labour problems. I wish to emphasise here the word 'interaction' because 'development' can have an impact on 'rural employment and labour, creating problems, just as much as 'rural employment and labour problems' can, have an impact on 'development'. To consider the latter to the exclusion of the former is to assume the value position of the 'developer' rather than assessing the situation from the viewpoint of both 'developer' and those 'developed'.

One major objective of rural development may be to increase the G.N.P. of the country concerned or to increase its export earnings. Another objective may be to increase the per capita income of the rural population;

There can be a number of objectives for rural development. Which objective is paramount or which combination of objectives is selected as the goal of development will influence the interaction of rural development and rural employment and labour problems. I wish to emphasise here the word 'interaction' because 'development' can have an impact on 'rural employment and labour, creating problems, just as much as 'rural employment and labour problems' can, have an impact on 'development'. To consider the latter to the exclusion of the former is to assume the value position of the 'developer' rather than assessing the situation from the viewpoint of both 'developer' and those 'developed'.

One major objective of rural development may be to increase the G.N.P. of the country concerned or to increase its export earnings. Another objective may be to increase the per capita income of the rural population; another to provide maximum employment for a given rural population; another to safeguard a country in terms of population distribution and/or self sufficiency potential for food supply in the event of warfare with other states; another to improve the social provisions for rural dwellers; another to placate a powerful rural lobby, either of voters or of an influential elite. All these objectives may by no means be compatible with each other. A mineral exploitation or a plantation-type mechanised agricultural

---

1. Probably it would be desirable to give a 'world view' of development and rural employment problems in a paper of this nature. I find such a task impossible, however, because of the limitations of my own research experience. Consequently, whilst attempting to cover as broad a field as possible, my approach will be affected by my own experiences in Britain, West and East Europe, Israel, Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea and therefore may not do justice to the problems of many parts of the 'third world' of which I have had no direct experience.

AA0142161

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

development of a particular crop which increase G.N.P. or export income may restrict the availability of land for tribal peoples, reduce the opportunities for subsistence or local market production by small-holders reduce employment opportunities for unskilled and poorly educated locals or adversely affect the social provisions and quality of life for the rural population in the region concerned. Conversely, development of certain rural resources in order to placate rural voters or influential elites may be to the detriment of G.N.P. or export earnings or may provide rural employment at the expense of the urban poor.

It is not realistic, therefore, to look at rural development as an absolute benefit. Rather we need to examine both the positive and negative aspects of different types of development with different objectives.[2] For the purpose of this seminar group this examination needs to be relative to rural employment and the rural labour force.

2. Types of development

Rural development can be economic, social or political or some combination of these.

Economic development can consist of increasing the efficiency and or the productivity of existing economic activity, agricultural and non-agricultural, in a rural area. This can be brought about by the introduction of new technology, improved management methods or increases in the number or size of existing economic activities. Necessary concomitants are an influx of experts and/or new settlers and an improvement in the general level of knowledge, skills and abilities, through educational campaigns, of the original inhabitants. Basically, existing social institutions and organisations will be expanded or modified except where the development of existing economic activities relies heavily on bringing in new settlers or on a drastic reorganisation of existing modes of production under the direction or guidance of experts. In these latter situations considerable changes in social institutions and organisations may occur through the decline or modification of the existing ones and the planned introduction of new ones.

of the productivity of existing economic activity, agricultural and non-agricultural, in a rural area. This can be brought about by the introduction of new technology, improved management methods or increases in the number or size of existing economic activities. Necessary concomitants are an influx of experts and/or new settlers and an improvement in the general level of knowledge, skills and abilities, through educational campaigns, of the original inhabitants. Basically, existing social institutions and organisations will be expanded or modified except where the development of existing economic activities relies heavily on bringing in new settlers or on a drastic reorganisation of existing modes of production under the direction or guidance of experts. In these latter situations considerable changes in social institutions and organisations may occur through the decline or modification of the existing ones and the planned introduction of new ones.

Alternatively, economic development can consist of the introduction of new agricultural or non-agricultural enterprises to supplement or replace existing activities. Necessary concomitants will again be an influx of experts, new settlers and educational campaigns for original and new inhabitants. Because of the introduction of new enterprises, new social institutions and organisations are likely to be introduced also, replacing or modifying existing ones. The further removed the new enterprises are from the old ones in terms of the skills, knowledge, supporting services and general infrastructure required the greater will be the changes likely in social institutions and organisations. Thus, for example, the

---

2. For a discussion of conflicting objectives in development see Nalson, J.S. 'Planning and Objectives for Rural Adjustment and Development in Australia', Proceedings 7th World Sociological Congress, Varna 1970.

substitution of iron ore mining on a massive scale for pastoral agriculture is likely to create greater changes in the pattern of social institutions and organisations in a rural region than is a change from sheep grazing to cattle grazing.

Social development can, and usually does, accompany economic development, although the changes in labour requirements and occupational opportunities may result in a decline in social amenities for those associated with the formerly dominant economic enterprise, even though an overall increase in social development may occur associated with the newly introduced enterprises. Social development, however, can occur in the absence of economic development when public pressure or lobbying by vested interests is powerful enough to make it expedient for governments to make concessions to rural people in terms of improved social amenities without any guarantee of increased economic return resulting. Considerations of national prestige or fear of international sanctions or disapproval may result in social developments such as country-wide T.V. coverage, improved or even lavish health services in certain locations, expensive roading or air services without any guarantee of economic payoff.

Both social and economic development may come about through the bargaining power of experts or officials in government or semi-government instrumentalities or private organisations and need bear little or no relationship to the needs of the people resident in the area where the development takes place or to social or economic priorities of the country concerned.

Political development in rural areas can result from changes in policy of central government, for example, from decisions to set up local government councils, regional authorities, or local or regional taxation or representation, or it can result from pressure from locals for their own political instrumentalities, or the setting up of such instrumentalities in defiance of central government. Political development may embrace all social and economic activity in a region or it may occur, from 'above' or 'below' to serve specific needs such as control or influence relative to a particular production or consumption commodity. In some circumstances political parties or associations may actively engage in social and economic development in rural areas as part of their plans for winning the hearts and minds of the people or for controlling their actions and activities.

3. Stages of development

In considering rural development on a world-wide scale we need to consider all stages of development from simple subsistence rural economies and social organisations through to complex mixed rural economies

in highly developed states. Without entering into the complex models of various stages of development which can be used when considering total economies,[3] we can consider the various stages in the rural situation according to the degree of subsistence and market economy in the agriculture, the extent to which other economic activities are present and the type of labour engaged in the agricultural and other activities. Rochm and Planckhave outlined an analysis of twenty agrarian and production systems according to the main function of the land, the property and tenure involved, the economic goal and the work organisation of the labour used.[4] It is possible to re-classify this schema on the basis of type of farming activity and labour engaged and add to it the extra dimension of non-farming activity.

Table I indicates the range of production systems and the type of labour involved as you move from subsistence agriculture through small-scale to large-scale non-agricultural industries. But it would be too simplistic an approach to assume increasing stages of development as one moved from A(A) to D(A) and from A(I) to D(I). For a particular country or rural region there could be any combination of each of these types of economic activity occurring together. For example, in parts of Papua New Guinea, subsistence agriculture, large-scale agriculture in foreign owned plantations and large-scale mining or forestry ventures with foreign owned joint-stock capital can all occur together. Again, in many countries subsistence agriculture with some market production co-exists with and has interdependencies with large-scale collective or state agriculture producing for the market and with large-scale state industrial enterprises located in non-metropolitan regions.

The 'development' first required in some under-developed areas may be to increase the productivity and nutritional range of subsistence agriculture rather than to push a change towards export crops already in surplus on the world market. But the economic ethos behind the latter may lead to it being adopted as an objective to the detriment of the former. Furthermore, in some regions - parts of Africa for example, - development via large-scale mining has led to a depletion of the able-bodied male labour force from subsistence areas making it almost impossible to develop, (i.e. improve the productivity and range of) the subsistence agriculture operated by the old men, women and children who remain.

---

3. For example, Rostov's stages of economic growth and the various derivatives of and counter-schemes to his model.

4. Rochm, H. and Planck, U., unpublished material provided by T. Bergmann in a private communication. Table I incorporates a re-arrangement of the elements of a table by Rochm and Planck entitled 'Indicators of Selected Agrarian and Production Systems.'

TABLE I

Type of Activity	Agrarian and production system included	Type of labour engaged
A(A) Subsistence Agriculture	1. Nomadism or herdsman	- family, sub-tribe
	2. Integral shifting cultivation	- family
	3. Partial shifting cultivation	- family, village community
	4. Primitive tribal or village	- joint family village neighbours
B(A) Subsistence agriculture with some market production	5. Semi-settled mountain-husbandry	- family plus unmarried wage earners
	6. Peasant farming	- family plus hired unmarried labour
C(A) Predominantly small scale agricultural market production	7. Family farm ownership	- family, hired labour
	8. Family farm tenantship	- family, hired labour
D(A) Predominantly large-scale agricultural market production	9. Feudal	- bondmen, share-croppers small tenants, hired workers
	10. Transhumance	- Wage Labour
	11. Contract farming	- family, hired labour
	12. Estate plantation, State and industrial farming	- Wage labour and salaried labour
	13. Cooperative land use	- family members of coops
	14. Collective farm	- labour brigade (groups of family members)
	15. Peoples communes	- labour brigade and commune members (groups of family members)
	16. Kibbutz-type	- commune members (groups of family members)
A(I) Small scale agricultural service industries	a) Shops, traders, craftsmen	- family, unmarried wage earners
B(I) Cottage or family production industries	b) Manufacturers, forestry, small mining	- family, unmarried wage earners
C(I) Large-scale service industries	c) Joint stock and private companies	- wage and salaried labour
	d) State enterprises	- wage and salaried labour
	e) Collective enterprises	- commune members and wage earners
D(I) Large-Scale production industries	d) and e)	as above

Table I indicates that the labour involved in subsistence agriculture is family, tribal and village community labour. Development of purely subsistence agriculture is thus bound up with competition between the uses of this labour for agriculture and its uses for other family and community

activities - rituals, gift exchange ceremonies and activities, rites de passage, communal and family responsibilities for maintenance, repair and improvement to family, village or tribal property etc. Where subsistence agriculture is supplemented by production for the market, and also for small-scale agriculture mainly for the market, the family still predominates although some hired labour is used on some farms or at particular stages of the family developmental cycle.[5] Other economic activity in the rural area, particularly if it is large-scale, can compete with semi-subsistence and family farming for both family and hired labour so that the development of the industrial activity may adversely affect attempts to develop the farming.

All the types of large-scale agricultural production for the market employ hired or collective labour. Competition for this labour can occur either from other needs for labour in the collective units or from subsistence or small-scale agriculture co-existing with the large-scale agriculture or from industrial and service activity in the rural region. In these large-scale enterprises labour problems tend to be more associated with the division of labour, labour organisation, personnel management and key managerial and task skills, i.e. 'industrial-type' problems, than with family and communal problems, although in kibbutzim, communes and collectives family and communal problems may still affect development.

The small-scale agricultural service industries and the cottage and family production industries in rural areas have a labour dependence on the family and unmarried wage earners similar to that for semi-subsistence and family farms and they both compete with and complement these small farms for labour and other resources such as capital.[6]

This discussion of stages of development has indicated that in considering the impact on development of rural employment and labour problems it will be necessary to indicate carefully what is being developed - a region, or an economy or agriculture or industry - and to take account of interactions between types of agriculture and industry at different stages of development.

4. Approaches to development

All development is planned at some level or another. At the one

---

5. For discussions of the influence of the family developmental cycle on the labour supply to family farms see: Nalson, J.S. 'Problems of Resource Use on the Family Farm Australian Journal of Agricultural Economics, Vol.8, No.1, (June 1974), pp.46-56; Nalson, J.S. Mobility of Farm People, Manchester University Press, 1967, Ch.3.

6. For an account of the interdependence for labour of small farming and service industries which is still applicable to some areas in the Western world see Arensberg, The Irish Countryman, Gloucester, Mass., Peter Smith, 1959.

extreme it will occur as the accumulated result of the plans of individual entrepreneurs or firms responding to market forces or of associations of individuals responding to perceived social needs. At the other extreme it will result from a central planning authority setting up developmental targets for different industries and regions and related to an overall plan for social and economic development. In between these extremes will be a whole variety of 'controlled free-enterprise planning' on the one hand, and 'centrally-determined' regional planning on the other.

At the 'free-enterprise' end of the spectrum the interaction of development with rural employment and labour problems is likely to be associated with conflicts within the family, clan, tribe or local community. These conflicts will be concerned with traditional versus new technologies, traditional versus new skills and knowledge, traditional versus new distribution of wealth, authority and power, traditional versus new social, economic and political institutions and traditional versus new value systems. At the 'central planning' end of the spectrum these traditional versus new conflicts will still occur within and between families, clans and local communities but the emphasis of conflict will tend to change to that between 'us' and 'them' i.e. between locals and the officials representing the central planning authority. In these circumstances, 'traditional', will tend to be equated with 'local' and 'new' with 'central authority' in the minds of both local people and planning officials. In addition to conflicts between the 'locals' and 'cosmopolitans' over objectives and methods, labour and organisational problems will arise in the central planning situation between the objectives, methods and targets of the central planners and those of the bureaucrats operating the plan at the local level. At the free enterprise end of the spectrum lack of power to enforce change and lack of uniformity in developmental objectives will adversely affect the rate and direction of development. Conversely at the central planning end the rate and direction of development will be adversely affected by rigidity of planning and failure to adapt plans to fit local circumstances. Moves towards regional autonomy and worker control within overall national plans are responses of centrally planned states to their developmental difficulties at the local level, whilst the setting up of regional planning authorities with statutory powers to limit certain developments and promote others are the means sought in free enterprise economies to solve their difficulties of development.

5. Institutions and organizations of development

Development implies change in quantity and quality of social, economic and political activity in a region. Also, as indicated in the previous section, if the development is controlled development with specific objectives it implies forward planning under the control of a planning instrumentality.

Such an organisation may be an arm of government and/or a commercial or international body contracting to undertake, oversee or guide development in accordance with a schema agreed upon with government. Such a planning body and its associated enabling organisations - extension, education, financing, materials supplying, construction, control and coercive bodies may work wherever possible through existing local organisations and take advantage of local social institutions to work with local people. Inevitably, however, a development programme for a rural area will cut across existing social institutions and patterns of relationships. An expert elite will be imported with a different cultural background, frame of reference and value system from those of locals and with different allegiances and personal and organisational objectives. New organisations will be set up to implement the various phases of the development and a changed set of local occupational structures, career patterns and aspirations will be generated. Youth, energy, education, versatility and ability to acquire new skills will have an advantage over age experience, and traditional knowledge and skills although, as Scarlett Epstein has shown,[7] for some social systems the onset and successful operation of a developmental programme may actually reinforce the existing status system and do little to advance, socially or economically, those at the bottom of the social scale.

Where the emphasis of development is on increasing economic returns to the labour and enterprise of locals, (a common aim in many developing countries with low per capita incomes), possession of material wealth and the ability to manipulate or take advantage of the planning organisations for personal or group material gain may change the <u>basis</u> of power and prestige in the community. It may not necessarily change the <u>locus</u> of power and prestige however, if the existing upper class are possessed of the education, connections and capital necessary to make best and quickest use of the introduced structures for development.

Where the emphasis of development is on increasing economic returns to the labour and enterprise of locals, (a common aim in many developing countries with low per capita incomes), possession of material wealth and the ability to manipulate or take advantage of the planning organisations for personal or group material gain may change the basis of power and prestige in the community. It may not necessarily change the locus of power and prestige however, if the existing upper class are possessed of the education, connections and capital necessary to make best and quickest use of the introduced structures for development.

As was the case for the irrigation community in India studied by Epstein[8] it may be easier, cheaper or more expedient to import labour for development from elsewhere rather than utilise existing underemployed, unskilled labour in the development region. In such cases the development may result in a worsening situation for people on the lowest strata of the local society. This occurred in an economically advanced country - Western Australia - for a region developed by irrigation when migrant Italian and Yugoslavian families were imported to the development area as sharecroppers and effectively reduced the casual work available on plantations for the indigenous population of Aborigines.[9]

---

7. Epstein, S.T. Economic Development and Social Change in South India, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

8. Epstein, S.T. ibid.

9. Nalson, J.S. and Parker, M.L. Irrigation on the Gascoyne River. Perth, University of WEstern Australia Press, 1963.

In developing regions a pluralist structure of society can evolve consisting of a group of locals who for various reasons have not participated in the development process and have either continued with their traditional social organisation or become disorientated due to the breakdown of traditional structures; a group of locals who have become involved in the development process and adapted to it; and groups of incomers - expert elites, skilled and unskilled imported workers - distinct in their interaction and value systems from each other and from the local groups. Rural employment and labour problems in such a pluralistic social situation are likely to be associated with communication between the groups, their conflicting objectives, recruitment to the groups and labour and social mobility within, out of and between the groups.

B. Types of Rural Employment and Labour Problems Relative to Development

1. Problems of population structure

Prior to the onset of a development plan for a region the existing population structure will determine the type and quantity of the local labour available both for the initial work of establishing the developmental activity and for the ongoing operation of the new activities.

With capital intensive developments - building a dam and associated works for irrigation schemes or hydro-electric power or establishing a mining complex - the quantity and type of labour required in the construction phase, and the type of skills and knowledge required will be different, usually, from that required to operate the development and to undertake the new activities arising from it. In some situations it may be necessary, or be considered cheaper or more efficient, to import much of the construction and establishment labour. In other situations, local labour may be trained for the job. Both approaches result in employment and labour problems either immediately or ultimately.

Where labour is imported into a developmental area a whole official infra-structure has to be established to house, feed, provide health and other welfare, entertain and control the labour force, and frequently an unofficial infrastructure develops to undertake those aspects of these activities not provided officially. Excluded largely from the construction development and its official infrastructure the locals set up their own services and control activities. These can range from 'sly grogging' to prostitution, dealing in stolen food and equipment and unofficial policing and punishment of the imported labour for transgressing either the original norms of the local society, for example, by sleeping with the local women, or the modified norms of the 'development influenced' local society, for example, by not paying for sleeping with the local women. In

these circumstances, the local population can certainly benefit materially although unevenly,[10] from the 'spin-off' of the construction phase of development. It is open to question, however, whether the type of skills and work habits and the lack of moral probity induced in the locals by these illicit economic activities are conducive to settling down in the operational phase and tending irrigated plots or working a 50 hour week on a semi-skilled hot dusty mining operation.

Problems arise too, for the imported labour itself. If the construction phase is of short duration but working to a strict schedule, wages will tend to be high, hours long, amenities minimal required to encourage the labour and a high proportion of single men or men without their wives will be employed. These are just the conditions which set up the demands for the illicit goods and services which can be supplied by the local population. Drunkenness, petty pilfering, fighting, V.D., absenteeism and high labour turnover are all problems which can arise under these circumstances.

When the construction phase of development lasts a long time,[11] the infrastructure is planned accordingly and a permanent married labour force is established, initial problems may arise due to lack of amenities, isolation, loneliness of wives and difficulty in educating children. But it is when the construction phase eventually comes to an end that major labour employment problems can arise. A whole town may have been built, whole complex organisations created, providing career structures for professionals and permanent highly paid work for skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour and a range of service industries grown up around the construction activities. In these circumstances, whole communities may face status deprivation, a drastic downturn in their economic opportunities, an increase in per capita cost of maintaining essential services due to an outmigration of people and a disproportionate number of old people, invalids, and wives without husbands due to a differential out-movement in seeking work of the young, of the able-bodied and of males. Professional careers can be affected too, due to people becoming highly specialised, committed to and dependent upon one organisation, putting down deeper roots into a local community than is normal for mobile professionals and passing the age at which movement is easy to a new type of job and new environment.

---

10. Although the author has knowledge of one situation where the proceeds of prostitution from the one marketable asset of a local population, their women, tended to be distributed equally over time amongst the whole population by means of endemic gambling propensities.

11. For example, the Snowy Mountains project in Australia for the provision of hydro electric power and irrigation water was 20 years in the construction phase.

When local labour is sought for the construction phase of a development programme, apart altogether from the degree of knowledge and skills possessed, the sex ratios and age structure of the population may be unfavourable. If the development has been instituted because of poor economic opportunities in the region in the past it is likely that a proportion of the younger population not tied to the land by filial responsibilities and family work requirements will already have left in search of better economic opportunity elsewhere. In some cultures and for some types of agriculture there will have been a greater outmovement of women. In other cultures and types of agriculture the young men will have moved out in greater numbers than the young women. Obviously, the problems which arise in servicing the construction phase or operating the developed phase from local labour will vary with the sex ratios and degree of ageing of the residual population.

Where a local population is inadequate in numbers or structure to operate a development scheme or where development occurs in a previously sparsely populated area, and particularly for agricultural developments, new settlers from other regions will be brought into the area. Frequently a high proportion of such settlers are young and married. Consequently problems arise over time due to the imbalance in population structure - suddenly massive provision is required for baby health services, then this need declines as the need for primary education appears. This in turn is replaced by demands for secondary education, tertiary education and then jobs . . . In addition, in the early stages of the family developmental cycle family labour is scarce - Mum is too busy having babies and looking after young children and the young children are not capable of helping effectively with farm work. Nobody else has any grown-up family and therefore everybody tends to be short of labour. But if the development scheme is planned to allow for this in the early stages by organising for one man operation, in fifteen to twenty years time there will be a shortage of land resources, underemployment of family labour, outmigration of the young and ablebodied leading to eventual shortage of settlers to take over

in population structure - suddenly massive provision is required for baby health services, then this need declines as the need for primary education appears. This in turn is replaced by demands for secondary education, tertiary education and then jobs . . . In addition, in the early stages of the family developmental cycle family labour is scarce - Mum is too busy having babies and looking after young children and the young children are not capable of helping effectively with farm work. Nobody else has any grown-up family and therefore everybody tends to be short of labour. But if the development scheme is planned to allow for this in the early stages by organising for one man operation, in fifteen to twenty years time there will be a shortage of land resources, underemployment of family labour, outmigration of the young and ablebodied leading to eventual shortage of settlers to take over the original holdings. Nor are these problems overcome in collective settlements if the settlements are established mainly by young people. Certainly where consumption as well as production is collective some of the worst features are mitigated by utilising female labour more effectively through the use of communal eating and child rearing facilities but the collective demands of the family developmental cycle still occur, particularly in relation to capital provisions and services. Thus, at an early stage of establishment of the collective production activities, the consumption activities and expenditures prove to be competitive for both capital and labour.[12]

12. In a kibbutz established in 1953 on which the author worked in 1971 only two people, parents of a former member, were over the age of 37 and the kibbutz had just expended $\frac{1}{4}$ million on building apartments for family living to meet the desire of the majority of young couples to have their children sleeping with them in the same apartment.

Whether an agricultural settlement scheme is planned on the basis of individual, cooperative or collective operation, if it is intended to be permanent, planning for a time span of more than one generation is essential.

2. Problems of underemployment and under-capitalisation

Development, particularly of agriculture, tends to be associated with mechanisation and larger-scale operation. But, if such a policy is instituted in areas where there is a surplus of labour, it is likely to create greater under-employment or unemployment than existed previously with non-mechanised labour-intensive methods. The development may increase G.N.P. and/or export earnings but, whilst the country's economy may benefit, the benefit to individuals may only accrue to a relatively few highly paid machine operators, entrepreneurs, paid officials, and suppliers of capital goods - some of whom may not be indigenous to the country being developed. But the mass of the population subject to development could have less work and less money or food or goods than they had before. If capital is scarce and dear and labour is plentiful and cheap, it makes for both economic sense and social justice to husband the scarce resource-capital by making the maximum use of the plentiful resource - labour. For many development situations the problem is how to make hand labour more productive not how to eliminate it. Large-scale methods of development have frequently been adopted in situations where capital is scarce and the pressure for change has been based on ideological rather than economic considerations. Under such circumstances, collectivisation or industrialisation of agriculture without adequate capital to mechanise has resulted in diseconomies of scale and a loss of able-bodied labour to urban-based industry due to dissatisfaction with working conditions and the low return obtained for hand labour and long hours under difficult working conditions. In reaction against the disadvantages of such ideologically-based developments systems of agricultural development have evolved in such countries as Poland and Yugoslavia embodying a mixture of labour intensive peasant holdings with capital-intensive cooperative structures for the provision of services and facilities and the development, demonstration and dissemination of technological and managerial 'know-how'.

3. Problems of acquisition of skills and knowledge

In rural regions where development projects are considered necessary the population tends to have a limited range of skills and knowledge acquired by precept and practice in occupations which are frequently inherited from father to son. Such skill and knowledge if it is related to agriculture particularly is not very transportable from place to place or to another occupation or from one type of farming to another. Consequently, if a development project involves major emphasis on new agricultural

products or on economic activities for which agricultural skills and knowledge are not applicable, to benefit the locals rather than migrants attracted or brought in, the project needs to have provision in it for training the local population in the necessary skills and for providing them with the appropriate knowledge for the new work. Even if great reliance is placed on immigrant settlers it is likely that these will need training and education also if they have moved from areas of traditional farming or from occupations unrelated to those which are available in the development area. Problems faced by development authorities are associated with lack of facility with means of formal instruction on the part of the adult population; with language barriers between expert and populace - both linguistic, in the case of expatriots and indigenous non-locals speaking an official language rather than the local one, and in terms of vocabulary and concept formation; with attitudes of suspicion towards new ideas and with the conflict between allowing people to learn by their mistakes and the need to ensure success of the development project. This latter conflict can be one of the most intractable problems if the means for acquiring the necessary skills and knowledge on the part of local inhabitants are not closely linked to a process of gradual assumption of increasing complexities of responsibility on their part. What can happen with a population unused to modern technology, business methods and bureaucratic procedures is that the expert adviser becomes the expert manager or doer creating a dependency of the locals on the officials of the development programme. These then can become so involved in making the details of the programme successful that they have little time, effort or interest in teaching the locals to take over for themselves. From such a situation mutual distrust and contempt can arise between the 'locals' and the 'experts'. The locals see the experts as the agents of government or the developmental authority and either come to rely on them to operate the development projects and expect them to do so, or resent the project as a creature of government and not something of and for the people. On their part, the 'experts', faced with running a project using untrained or poorly trained labour tend to build up stereotypes of the inadequacies of the locals. Thus a vicious cycle can be created whereby the locals never obtain adequate training to take responsibility for the projects because the people who should be training them to do so are too involved in keeping the projects running.[13] Development authorities sometimes rationalise this situation by maintaining that "the older people are too set in their ways and we will have to wait until the younger generation takes over before achieving success". This may occur in some circumstances where the younger generation have no

13. The author has come across extreme cases of this vicious cycle recently in the operation of the cooperative movement in Papua New Guinea.

reasonable alternative but to follow on from their parents. It has been suggested, for example, that the recent and sudden upsurge in the 'green revolution' in countries like India many years after the start of development aid may have come about through the takeover of peasant holdings from the old generation by the younger generation better educated, more aware of the productive advantages of agricultural innovation and with a higher motivation to obtain the material rewards from increased agricultural production and efficiency. However, in other situations, where youth could and did move away from agriculture for other employment, development projects have foundered because they have been rejected by the younger generation either as not materially attractive enough or because they have not been seen at the local level as projects by and for the people. Useful discussion could take place in this seminar on the extent to which it is necessary to accept slower progress of development projects than can be achieved by expert operation in order to ensure local participation in the decision making processes, and in the skilled or unfamiliar work associated with the project, so that people can learn by their mistakes and accept the responsibility for and identify with the development.

4. Problems of resistance to and adjustment to change

Development implies change. The problems associated with the change will vary with the type and extent of the development and the degree to which the development affects the value systems, cultural and economic activities, social and economic institutions, roles and responsibilities, and the locus of power and decision making in status systems in the society undergoing development. Obviously the changes will be more profound and far reaching if development projects are designed to lift a subsistence economy dependent on agriculture into a technologically advanced mixed economy dependent on the world economy than if the development plan envisages a modest change in either a subsistence economy or a market economy. Equally profound changes will occur if the development involves a move from individual to collective enterprise or vice versa from communal land holding and cooperative tribal or village activity to individual land ownership and entrepreneurship. If a local value system has developed round mutual kinship and neighbourly responsibilities and cooperation, considerable adult re-socialisation may be necessary to enable the establishment of an individualistic free enterprise system dependent on large-scale organisations for services and on a market and money economy. This will be particularly so if the development upsets the existing status system, the roles and responsibilities that go with it and the locus of power and decision making. Making traditional leadership and community roles redundant due to a development programme can generate resistance to the programme, particularly if at the same time youth is seen to have an

advantage over age and individual advancement tends to depend on ignoring traditional ties, responsibilities and obligations. Here again a useful basis for seminar discussion would be the relative long term effectiveness of emphasis on inducing rapid changes in social institutions, value systems and sources of power for the purpose of speeding up development compared with introducing development more slowly by working through the existing institutions.

5. Problems of time scheduling

A change from subsistence agriculture to a market agriculture or from market or subsistence agriculture dependent on the rhythm of the seasons to industry dependent on the rhythm of the machine can have profound effects on the people who have to adjust to the change. For much of agriculture, whether for subsistence or for the market there are seasonal peaks and troughs of activity and frequently, particularly with animal production or with irrigated crops, peaks and troughs of daily activity. As a result people's social life, leisure and responsibilities and their work activities tend to become intermingled. Dairy farmers go to town between milkings or have a sleep in the early afternoon; tribal ceremonies and festivals and community projects are undertaken between harvest and planting or planting and harvest; social activities and meetings of community organisations tend to be concentrated in the off-season for farming activities. The more that agriculture takes on a large scale industrial pattern however, or the more that economic activity in a rural area comes to depend on industrial activity, the less can people make their own decisions as to when during the day or the year they can work. The Israeli moshavnik growing roses in a plastic greenhouse for the European market has to work to a time schedule determined by the time the 707 leaves Lod airport to catch the next day's flower market in Frankfurt; the Boungainvillian producing vegetables for feeding the employees of the giant copper mining plant has to have them at the pick-up point at the time the Company transport is due to collect them and the contract broiler

ceremonies and festivals and community projects are undertaken between harvest and planting or planting and harvest; social activities and meetings of community organisations tend to be concentrated in the off-season for farming activities. The more that agriculture takes on a large scale industrial pattern however, or the more that economic activity in a rural area comes to depend on industrial activity, the less can people make their own decisions as to when during the day or the year they can work. The Israeli moshavnik growing roses in a plastic greenhouse for the European market has to work to a time schedule determined by the time the 707 leaves Lod airport to catch the next day's flower market in Frankfurt; the Boungainvillian producing vegetables for feeding the employees of the giant copper mining plant has to have them at the pick-up point at the time the Company transport is due to collect them and the contract broiler producer in America or Australia has to fatten his chickens, clean and disinfect his houses and be ready for the new batch of chicks in time with the requirements of the firm supplying him with feed and birds and taking his finished product. Thus punctuality, working to a strict routine, specific periods for work and for leisure are required and rewarded when rural development depends on large scale agricultural or industrial organisations linked to market demands. Problems arise when such requirements clash with traditional obligations, leisure patterns and long standing habituation to mixing work and leisure and working at your own pace.[14]

---

14. It is worth noting that the stereotype of strictly organised and routinised work habits in developed society is very frequently departed from due to the prevalence of such devices as strikes, 'sickies', (In Australia the utilisation to the full for purposes of leisure, of statutory sick leave entitlement) organised breakdowns and unofficial refreshment breaks.

6. General problems of social relationships between 'locals' and 'incomers'.

These are problems of clashes over cultural orientation, life chances, life style, individual and community objectives, rivalry for scarce power and for scarce resources. They can arise between locals and a professional elite brought in to promote, operate, supervise and guide development projects or between locals and an imported labour force or settlement group. Within a settlement group the issues can be over competition for or preferential access to scarce land or developmental resources for land and competition for community power and influence. Amongst imported labour the competition can be for work generated by the development, and for scarce housing amenities and women, whilst clashes can occur due to differences in cultural orientation, life style and value systems.

Amongst the professional elite, competition can be for community power and influence and clashes can occur over cultural orientations, life style and value systems. Both the professional elite and the imported workers are likely to be much more mobile spatially and between jobs than are the locals and thus not to have the same identification with the local area, people or problems. The lack of identification of professionals with the local situation can be reinforced by the policies of government organisations in frequently moving their officers for promotion and from fears of them becoming too involved in local affairs to the detriment of their loyalty to the organisation.

C. Contrasts and Convergencies

A major contrast when examining the interaction of development and rural employment and labour problems is that between small-scale family based enterprise and large-scale organisation. Frequently the original social and economic organisation prior to development is made up of small-scale family enterprises, both agricultural and non-agricultural, with local orientation and local control. With the onset of planned development, large scale organisation with remote control is superimposed on this local structure. The superimposition occurs in two dimensions, firstly by the setting up of the development organisation itself and secondly through the schemes for development which can involve large-scale organisations for irrigation, land clearance and settlement, processing of products and industrial, extractive, and service industries. Thus, during the development process, two systems coexist, cooperate and conflict with each other - a family based system and an organisationally based system.

Of importance in the family system to the utilisation and effectiveness of labour and the provision of rural employment are such factors as the family developmental cycle; kinship and property obligations and conflicts; production and consumption inter-dependencies

and conflicts; close-knit networks of relationships; limitations of local frames of reference and tendencies towards universality of value systems. If, as frequently occurs, the scheme of development depends at the primary production level on family-based enterprises there will be convergency between the situation prior to development and that afterwards in so far as factors affecting family based systems are concerned. The settlers may be new, the products and the techniques different but, if the system of production depends on the family, the afore-mentioned factors influencing family-based systems will operate in the interaction of the introduced economic system and labour and rural employment problems.

Of importance in the organisationally based systems to the utilisation and effectiveness of labour and the provision and problems of rural employment are factors associated with the sociology of organisations, bureaucracy and professionalism. These include goal displacement, role conflicts, status and power relations, resistance to change associated with life career chances of extremely specialised labour, differential mobility of different types of labour, difficulties of communication and understanding associated with conflicts of values, life style and objectives between locals and cosmopolitans.

There will be convergency between the situation occurring during development and that subsequently in so far as organisationally based systems are concerned. The systems set up to control, monitor and service development projects, together with some development projects themselves if these are industrially, estate or collectively organised, will be similar in structure, function and control. Consequently they will be affected by the same sort of sociological factors as enumerated for organisationally based systems.

Between family-based production systems and organisationally based planning, service and developmental systems operating in the same region there will be contrasts and conflicts due to the inherently different sets of factors leading to their internal consistencies, equilibriums and directions of change. The factors which minimise or create labour problems in one system can maximise or solve labour problems in the other. However, the dependency of the two systems on each other in a developmental area - the farmer could not produce without the expertise of the expert and the expert would not have a job if the farmer was not there - leads to a situation of mutual exploitation at the interface and intersection of contact between the two systems.

The contrasts between the two systems are the most marked when elements of them are coalesced into one in collective or cooperative settlements and service activities. Within the same organisation,

loyalty and duty to family and kin and self-advantage compete in the mind and activities of the same person with loyalty and duty to the organisation and with the greatest good for the totality of the population involved in the organisation. My observations of such organisations have led me to the conclusion that their successful operation depends in very large measure either on a high degree of commitment to the ideals of the organisation on the part of the majority of the members or, more frequently, on the sub-systems and compromises which develop within them to enable the members to obtain both material and mental satisfactions from those elements of the system which are family-based and from those which are organisationally based.

Finally, a convergent theme throughout this paper has been that associated with socialisation processes. Development involves change and change involves adaptation of people socialised to one system of values and social organisation to other systems. No amount of expenditure on physical resources for development will be effective in achieving the objectives of improving the material and mental welfare of rural people if the people reject the development through ignorance, mistrust, lack of understanding of objectives and failure to see the relevance of the development for the lives of themselves and their children. Methods of education and extension at all levels, andappropriate to the circumstances of the people in particular situations, are an important element in successful adaptation to and acceptance of development programmes by rural people.

ERIC Clearinghouse
APR 9 1973
on Adult Education